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## POLITICS

### The Russian Communist Party During Four Years of Revolution

by G. Zinoviev.

Our party was not very big in the beginning of 1917. At the end of April 17, some weeks before the collapse of Czarism, the first All-Russian Conference of our party was held at Petrograd. According to official figures there were at this conference 133 delegates with a deciding vote representing 76,577 organized members of the party. There were also present at the conference delegates with a consultative voice from organizations counting less than 300 members. These delegates represented 2627 party members. In all therefore 79,174 members were represented at the Conference. Petrograd had 4597 members, Moscow 7000, Moscow district 4500, the Urals 14,600, Donetz basin 5433, Saratov 16,000, Ivanovo-Vosnesensk 3654, Sorgovo 2009, Samara 2800, Kazan 400, etc.

80,000 members in entire immense Russia. With these forces our party entered the Revolution in 1917.

Was our party then already a party of the masses?

Unquestionably! Workers' mass parties are not always, not under all circumstances quantitatively strong. This is best seen in the history of our party. The Labor Party of Russia was becoming a party of the masses in the nineties of the last century. The Bolshevik Party which was considered at its inception in 1903 as a sect, was in 1904 and in the beginning of 1905 a mass party in the full sense of the word. The slogan "General Strike and Armed Insurrection", announced in the beginning of 1905 by the Third Congress of our party, was not the invention of some theoretician, but the mere statement of the fact that our party had then already been bound by numberless ties with those hundreds of thousands of progressive workers whose ideal was armed insurrection for which they were actively preparing themselves. Our party was already a party of the masses in 1905 when it became the spiritual driving power of the Petrograd Soviet of Workers' Deputies, at least in the second stage of its evolution. Our party had doubtless recruited tremendous masses in 1905 during the December insurrection as well as later in 1906 in the fight against the Cadets and the slogans of the Cadet ministry.

During the victory of the counter revolution our party was forced to an illegal existence and became greatly reduced in numbers. In the year 1906-1910 our party numbered only something over 10,000 members. Nevertheless it remained a party of the masses in the best sense of the word. The party was one with the working masses, fought against the deviations from principle in the party which might lead to an estrangement from the masses, and which threatened to turn the party into a sect.

In the beginning of the new disturbance after the Lena days, the party again embraced large masses of workers. The period of "Zvezda" and "Pravda", the period of strikes during 1912-1913 and our successful fight against the Mensheviks prove that the Party remained a party of the masses.

At the commencement of the imperialist war in 1914 when the workers of Petrograd faced the question of participating in the War Industries Committees, our party was still successful in leading the majority of the workers. But at the outbreak of the Revolution in 1917 we did not have the majority of the workers.

I remember the feeling of bitter disappointment when returning from abroad after the fall of Czarism we found that the party had only a small minority in the Petrograd Soviet. We could not understand how it happened that our party—behind which the majority of workers, or, at any rate the majority of the workers' vanguard stood so long—could now muster only such a small minority. The reason lay in the unusually grave crisis which the workers' movement of the entire world including our own, was passing. The social patriotic wind was also blowing among the Russian workers.

But we soon regained the Russian workers to our cause. And this gain was very lasting on the whole.

At the outbreak of the Revolution, two months after the fall of Czarism, we had a party membership of only 80,000 of which 25,000 were probably old members. The rest of the members entered the party two weeks after the fall of Czarism. Nevertheless, our party sent deep roots into the working masses. The Bolshevik Party is at least since 1905 the party of the working-class. Thanks to this and to the generally correct tactics of our Party during the Revolution, the C. P. R. did what the moment required.

Immediately after the October Revolution the Party members threw themselves into the work of the Soviets. The leading members of the party were completely taken up with this work. The same was generally true in the case of the local organizations and the rank and file of the party. And no wonder. At that period the basic problem of the day was to create a new state machinery on the ruins of the old system. For several months preceding the October Revolution the entire struggle was concentrated around the slogan: "All Power to the Soviets!"

After October this power was conquered. In order to instill life into this slogan, to make it a reality, to create a system of Soviets throughout the land, the party had to devote itself almost exclusively to this work. The party work proper was neglected for a long time.

In the middle of 1918 resounded the call: "Back into the Party!". On the one hand the fundamental aim of creating a complete Soviet system on an All-Russian scale was accomplished in general outlines; on the other hand and this chiefly—we noticed then those imperfections of Soviet machinery which have not been completely overcome until this day: bureaucracy, office seeking, estrangement from the masses, official arrogance, "commissariatization", etc. The slogan "Back into the Party!", was characteristic. The more clearly those imperfections in the Soviet machinery came to light the more evident it became to all progressive workers that only the party could save the situation. Only the party could correct the mistakes, organize the work, bring the essential machinery and the personnel into order, turn to account its rich experiences and help the workers to learn the management of the State. Since 1918 the Party has been growing in influence and importance. The leading, controlling and decisive role of the party becomes constantly more evident even to non-party men.

Civil war began. It became keener every day. We commenced our constructive labor: either we would succeed in building up the Red Army or the Revolution was lost. The C. P. R. created the Red Army; our law-abiding and "socialist" opponents have not understood and will not understand this for a long time to come. The role of our party in the creation of the Red Army was enormous. As our opponents were trying to understand the meaning of the "miracle"—and the creation of the Red Army seemed a miracle to them—they failed to notice that

several thousands of the best proletarians of our country united in the Communist Party, were actually building up the Army. Would it have been possible to solve the most important problem of finding Army Commanders without the aid of the party? The importance of the Communist vanguard on the main fronts became clearly apparent during the tragic events of Kronstadt in spring 1921.

In 1919 we organized a Party Week throughout almost all of Russia. It coincided with the most difficult period for the Soviet government. Yudenitch, Denikin and Koltchak were then at the acme of their successes. But precisely at this critical time our party attracted like a magnet the best part of the working-class; our opponents will not understand this as well for a long time to come. Of course not all members recruited in this week were a gain for the party. But the majority of the 200,000 that joined the party at this time doubtless remained in it and will continue to remain among us and help the party solve all the problems that will face it in the future.

The fourth anniversary of the Revolution coincided with a certain particular event in the development of our party. The Party devoted fully three months to the purification of its ranks. Immediately after the liquidation of the civil war the idea of purifying the party became more and more popular. Naturally, during the years of victorious dictatorship many foreign elements, often mere climbers, joined the party. Immediately after the disappearance of the external danger the party began the work of purification. Doubtless in the process, we committed here and there grave errors and acted unjustly towards some comrades. On the whole however, the procedure will be crowned with success. The party will become more homogeneous in respect of the social character of the membership and in respect of its ideology.

Purification as a mechanical measure cannot of course radically heal the party of all the ills from which it is suffering during the transition period, but nevertheless it will be of great utility. Thanks to the purification of the party the Communists were brought nearer to the non-party working masses; we may consider this as one of the most unique phases in our social and party history. We saw this very clearly a short time ago during the Petrograd elections. At the numerous meetings no one repeated the well known: "You Communists have many camp followers who only joined you for the sake of material gain". We robbed even our not over-scrupulous opponents of this argument. The prestige of the party rose tremendously.

On the fourth anniversary of our Revolution the party had only about half a million members. The number is small. If the Party were anxious for a large membership it could easily double or triple this number. But we are not doing it. Therein lies our force. I do not want to fall into the commonplace by saying that all is in perfect order. We are well aware of all those difficulties and ills with which our party will have to reckon for a long time to come.

Our party is no longer so homogeneous and the social status of our membership is changing. Industrial workers form the minority even in some of the most important local branches of our party. We must pay the closest attention to this fact and carefully reckon with the danger that lies in a change of the social character of our party membership. The data that show it often lead to serious reflection.

During the last, the fourth year of the proletarian revolution, our party began a fundamental change in its economic policy. The entire party has not as yet assimilated this change. But we may already truly assert that the hope of our enemies who expected a split in our party on account of the new policy was vain. No split did or is likely to occur for the simple and sufficient reason that the new economic policy inaugurated by our party is the only possible one in the present circumstances. The dissatisfied party members who in the beginning had an attitude of distrust and antipathy toward the new course came gradually around to the view just considered. Our party must as ever fearlessly face the truth, see clearly the inner dangers that threaten its existence and form no illusions concerning the conditions within the party. During the epoch of dictatorship we must continue on the only correct and unavoidable road, that of legal existence solely for our party, and at the same time we must reckon with all the dangers connected therewith....

In conclusion I wish to state a very important fact. During the four years of revolution our party contributed much to the unification of the class-conscious workers of the world in an international organization, the Communist International. With great pride we can say that ours is not the least among the parties of the C. I.

All this work was accomplished by the party that in April 1917 still counted only 80,000 members.

This was no insignificant performance . . . . .

"Be the agitator and the organizer in the fight against the bourgeoisie" was the slogan of the party in 1917.

"Be the organizer of Soviet authority", was the slogan of our party in 1917 and 1918.

"Be the soldier, the good Red Soldier", was the slogan of our party in 1918, 1919, 1920.

"Be the manager, be the organizer of production", is the present slogan of our party.

On the fifth anniversary of our party we will surely have reason to be proud of the success accomplished in this most difficult labor as well.

There is no greater honor than membership in the Communist Party. There is nothing more precious, there can be nothing more precious to us than our party, the splendid organization that has already helped the workers so materially in their hard fight for complete emancipation and that stands ready to help them until the fight is carried to a successful conclusion.

## The Vilna elections

by L. Domski (Warsaw).

The Vilna Diet elections will take place early in January. As is well known, these elections are to be a sort of plebiscite. After coming together the Diet itself is to decide whether it is to declare itself as part of Poland and then to adjourn, or whether it is to constitute itself the National Assembly of a more or less independent Central Lithuania.

In Poland itself there is a bitter struggle going on over these two views as represented by the National Democrats and the Belvedere Party (the latter being the followers of Pilsudski) respectively. Pilsudski makes no secret of his wish to create a state in Central Lithuania, which is to be independent of the Warsaw "Sejm" and of the Warsaw Government if possible. This independent state would thus become the center of attraction for the Lithuania of Kovno, and would at the same time serve as a wedge in the side of Soviet Russia. Pilsudski's attempt to round off this state with those districts which had already been annexed by Poland, brought him into a bitter conflict with the Sejm, out of which he came out victorious. The elections will therefore take place in an area having a population of about one million.

Pilsudski does not in the least conceal his personal interest in the outcome of the elections; indeed, immediately after the Sejm resolution was passed in his favor he visited the two districts of Lida and Braslow which he had "conquered" in his struggle against the Sejm, and in his speeches he demanded of the populace that it participate in the coming elections. He added that he would abstain entirely from influencing their decision, and that he would support and defend this decision under any circumstances. This strange part played by the head of government who refrains from agitating for his own government and who lends aid and protection to those who are against his own government can only be explained by the hypothesis that Pilsudski is *against their joining Poland*. This is established by the actual facts.

Pilsudski's followers in Lithuania are also doing everything within their power in order to organize a demonstration of the populace against joining. And these "Federalists" are in power there. After the withdrawal of Zeligowski, his "adjutant" and actual wire-puller Prystor (a former social patriot like Pilsudski) remains at the head of the government. In place of Zeligowski who was president of the provisional government commission, Meysztovcz, a large land owner and reactionary who under the Czarist regime was one of the most violent Czarophiles, is president. The fact that Meysztovcz has now joined the "democrats" Pilsudski and Prystor is easily understood if we remember that Meysztovcz owns property in the Lithuania of Kovno, and that he therefore wishes to "confederate" Kovno with Vilna.

Meysztovcz plays the part of a non-party landowner. But he, together with Prystor and the whole federalist clique are doing everything in their power to have the elections come out as prescribed by the federalists, and to guard the Diet against an annexationist majority.

The very fact that the plebiscite area was extended, was in itself a blow to the National Democrats. Vilna and its districts constitute the more Polish part of the disputed territory. But the annexing of other districts to Central Lithuania means giving greater play to the White Russian, Jewish and Lithuanian elements. The non-Polish nationalities intend to boycott the elections; but the federalists do everything to make them participate in the elections, particularly Zeligowski who plays the part of a knight of equality for the Jews. Of course this does not prevent him from tolerating the most rabid anti-semitic propaganda in the Polish schools. And as far as the foreign-born are concerned, the voting rules are more generous to them in Central Lithuania than in Poland.

Of course the Poles benefit by this, but the Jewish newspapers in Poland praise this "liberalism" in Central Lithuania and point to it as an example for Polish officialdom to follow.

In spite of its alliance with the program-hero, Petljura, the Pilsudski Party considers the Jew as the lesser of the two evils in comparison with the anti-semitism of the National Democrats.

Recently, the Jews of Central Lithuania seem to have taken a greater interest in the election campaign. The more certain the meeting of the Diet becomes, the less can the Jews gain through absence. It seems therefore that the federalist "liberalism" may have a certain success.

Of the Polish parties, the main support of the federalistic movement is the so-called "Rebirth Party" (the left peasant party). It has a considerable following among the peasant masses, thanks to the unscrupulous demagoguery of Pilsudski, who in his day issued a decree for agrarian reforms, fed the poor here and there at the expense of the government and financed the "Rebirth Party" with government funds and equipped it with government automobiles for propaganda purposes. The "Rebirth Party" demands autonomy on a broad scale for Central Lithuania; it demands that the Diet remain as a permanent institution which must pass a series of reforms (agrarian reforms chiefly). The P. P. S. and the small intellectual groups led by Abramovitch, which call themselves "Democracy", take the same position. The Polish Peasant Party (followers of Witos) which stands further to the right than the "Rebirth Party", will probably agree to a coalition with the above named parties in the coming elections.

On the other hand, various nationalist and Christian organizations are forming a united opposition of the right. They are for an unconditional annexation of Central Lithuania.

They seem to have no faith in Pilsudski's "federalistic" imperialism; they fear the latter's underhand dealings with Petljura and Balachovitch, and prefer a simple annexation to such tricks, inasmuch as they believe that Poland can swallow tiny Central Lithuania without wasting any democratic phrases as an anaesthetic upon its victim.

Outside of these parties, the independent trade unions on Vilna intend to put up their own list of candidates. These trade unions are considered communistic, and under the existing conditions they can hardly expect a victory.

At present we cannot say what the result of the election will be. A great deal depends upon whether the non-Polish nationalities will persist in keeping away from the polls. Indeed it is said in Poland that the Polish votes alone amount to 54% of the voting population. But this estimate is surely exaggerated. The main international question is whether the allies will at all recognize the results of this election. It seems an established fact that Poland is undertaking this election with the express permission or silent acquiescence of the Entente. In the recent conflict between Pilsudski and the Sejm, the minister of foreign affairs, Skirmunt, declared that the Allies would probably ratify the elections on the extended territory. This declaration was at any rate made with the consent of France.

In the meanwhile the Entente is torn by disagreements which render it incapable of united action and which compel it to recognize Poland's *jait accompli* which has just confronted the Allies with the occupation of the Vilna province. Moreover, Poland has the support of France behind it, and France occupies as strong a position as ever among the Allies. Besides, France, which is constantly losing its hope of an early "resurrection" in Russia, has less and less reason now for maintaining the provisional status quo in the East, and treating entire countries as floating deposits for the future Russia. On the contrary, it must now strive to strengthen Poland as its only ally which in certain respects may displace the Russia of old.

Lithuania also seems to recognize the superiority of the Polish position in the fight for Vilna. This explains the recent Warsaw trip of minister Rosenbaum and sheds light upon his intimations that Lithuania would, under certain conditions, be inclined to recognize the plebiscite. Apparently, Lithuania considers the game as lost and wishes at least to get something through negotiation. But Rosenbaum did not carry away any laurels from Warsaw. The Poles are conscious of their superiority and refuse to negotiate. The Lithuanians must therefore be patient until Pilsudski establishes himself in the autonomous Vilna province. He will then consider the time ripe for bringing Vilna and Kovno together as a united attacking ground against Soviet Russia.

## An Oddly Assorted Pair

by K. Kreibich (Reichenberg).

Whenever and wherever the strong conclude an agreement with the weak, the latter are, in the world's opinion, usually

cheated out of something. There being admittedly everywhere a decided lack of altruism, the world has only very seldom come to the wrong conclusion. Hence it is to be wondered at that the bourgeois press did not express similar thoughts on the agreement arrived at between Austria and Czecho-Slovakia. Apart from some sob-stories about the former school-fellows Masaryk and Hanisch shaking hands with the strains of the new Austrian National Hymn (words by Renner) floating through the room, we have not come across any critical comments. The Vienna press assumed the mentality of a Commoner whom a member of the Upper House has deigned to consider his equal, while the bourgeois press of Prague adopted, for a few days, a benevolent attitude. All are agreed however, on the high qualities of the Foreign Minister of Czecho-Slovakia, Benes, whose prudence and statesmanship are said to have carried off the palm. And in asserting this, they are not altogether wrong. For Mr. Benes did exercise the prudence and statesmanship necessary even for the strong to get the best of the weak, and it is indeed a sign of a superior quality when the foreign policy of a capitalist state foregoes chauvinism and instead serves both the economic and political interests of the State.

The benefit accruing to Austria from the agreement is that a gap is made in the wall of isolation which it must surmount or perish. The Allies having vetoed every proposal brought forward to join Germany, and the endeavors of Renner and Bauer to strike a friendship with France and Italy respectively having failed miserably, there was nothing left but to turn to the other Danube States which have succeeded the Austrian Empire. As Hungary could not enter into consideration, Czecho-Slovakia, economic relations with which are very close, was held to be the most suitable party with which an agreement could be concluded.

The agreement is essentially an economic one. Both parties have very keenly felt the effects of a great economic unit like the former Austrian Monarchy being forcibly torn apart. The first to suffer was Austria whose access to its former coalfields was suddenly cut off; then it was Czecho-Slovakia's turn to feel the outcome of the Allies peacemaking; having lost the Austrian market to other countries it could not dispose of its coal. Then there are furthermore the numerous debts and demands of both Austrian and Czecho-Slovakian private capital dating from the time before the collapse of the Habsburgs and therefore contracted in old Austrian crowns, which could not be settled so far on account of the tremendous difference between the Czecho-Slovakian and Austrian crown to-day. To these circumstances must be added the fact that Austria is the nearest and most suitable market for Czecho-Slovakian capital, and that the Austrian capitalists who have met with many disappointments in their dealings with their English and French brothers are determined to try Czecho-Slovakian capital which is, in their opinion, less obnoxious.

Czecho-Slovakian capital on its side needs a sure wad to Jugoslavia, as does the foreign policy dominated by it.

The political provisions of the agreement are, seen from a distance, a mere matter of course. Both States guarantee the other contracting party its territory and assure it of benevolent mentality—but how could Austria possibly help Czecho-Slovakia if the latter were "attacked"; whenever a war breaks out everyone declares himself the victim. Of greater importance is a reciprocal undertaking to prevent any attempts at the restoration of the monarchy. This and the provision providing for reciprocal protection against secret political machinations, are especially important for Czecho-Slovakia. Austria has very little to fear from Czecho-Slovakia in that respect. But Vienna, where the police force is less powerful, is a suitable soil for illegal political work for both monarchist and Communist aims in Czecho-Slovakia.

Mr. Benes though he said before the Parliamentary Foreign Affairs Committee that in his opinion Communism is a thing of the past, is a very prudent man and augments the police force because "you never can tell".

The agreement is a means to cope with the double danger Austria represents. Austria is to go hungry and without many things, but it is not to collapse, just as one does not let a cow perish while she is yet able to give milk. One has furthermore come to the conclusion that economic collapse is a contagious disease and that protective measures against such germs must be adopted in due time. Recent occurrences in Vienna, the sentiment prevalent amongst Austrian labor and the concessions the Austrian Social-Democrats were obliged to make it—in their phraseology at least—the weakness of the Austrian bourgeoisie, the always present danger that the social balance could go to the devil, all these things have combined to make the Czecho-

Slovakian bourgeoisie assume the role of guardian-angel to its dangerous neighbour. And because the Austrian bourgeoisie treasures its power and property above everything, it has submitted, and the Christian Socialists and the Pan-Germans have for the time being renounced their longing for the Habsburgs.

The failure of Karl's latest *coup d'état*, the recent hunger riots in Vienna and the necessity of suppressing the proletariat of Central Europe and of compelling it to accept a reduction of wages and a lengthening of working hours—all these things have combined to make both the Czecho-Slovakian and the Austrian bourgeoisie inclined to conclude an agreement. And Mr. Benes, who shrewdly drew the conclusion, is once more acclaimed as a savior.

## ECONOMICS

### The Economic Situation in Switzerland

by W. Trostel (Zurich).

Abroad, one often finds among the workers the opinion that Switzerland, the country of high foreign exchange, resembles Paradise. Every economist can easily prove that the reserve must be the case. The economic crisis, a result of capitalist anarchy of production, has not stopped at the Swiss frontiers. Swiss industry, which during the war realised tremendous profits manufacturing war material, is lying idle to-day. Owing to the high value of Swiss currency, industry cannot market its products. A number of industries (watch-making, textiles) relying almost exclusively upon export are facing ruin. Needless to say labour suffers most under this crisis which for it assumes the form of unemployment. These figures will suffice to prove this:

	September 20th	August 21st	October 21st
Out of work	7,275	63,182	74,238
Short time workers	10,379	74,309	59,835
Total	17,654	137,491	134,073

Of the 134,073 wholly or partly unemployed on October 31st, 1921, only 39,074 were receiving governmental unemployment doles, the rest are being subjected to utter misery.

Unemployment affects the more important branches of industries as follows:

	Out of Work	Short time workers
Watchmaking	30,925	20,525
Textile	27,625	6,539
Engineering	27,227	9,148
Unskilled workers	15,214	14,959

The number of unemployed is increasing month after month while the number of short time workers has only temporarily declined.

Bourgeois charlatans, imitating the example set by their class brothers in other countries, employed all possible—and impossible—remedies in order to stop the crisis. The principal remedies proposed were of course reduction of wages and extension of working hours. As labor's united phalanx against reaction suffered shipwreck upon the rock of the reformist trade-union leaders and the Social-Democrats' stupidity, the employers in various industries succeeded in effecting reductions of wages varying from 10 to 30 per cent. Even the 48-hour week as decreed by law has been set aside in many localities. A motion moved in Parliament and signed by 100 members (the majority) favors the abolishment of the legal eight-hour day.

Increased tariffs and even an embargo were other means intended to cope with the crisis and unemployment and to protect our industry against Austrian and German competition. As 90% of our industry manufactures goods for export, it follows that provisions of that description were of no avail. The one and only result was a further increase in unemployment, since the tariff was instrumental in increasing the prices of those products we are compelled to procure from abroad, and thus the misery of labour as well.

That a reduction of prices, which alone could justify a reduction of wages, is as far off as ever is shown by the fact that the price of milk is still 204% higher than it was before the war. The same applies to other agricultural products.

More than 60 per cent of the workers employed in that industry.

According to figures compiled by the Federation of Employers the index numbers for the cost of living were as follows:

	Food	Clothing	Housing	Other Expenses	Total Cost of Living
June 1912	100	100	100	100	100
June 1914	94	100	98	100	97
June 1919	249	240	135	180	212
Oct. 1920	254	240	155	190	220
June 1921	208	190	160	180	191

In consideration of the fact, however, that these figures take into account but part of the necessities of life, and furthermore, that they were compiled by employers in order to justify a reduction of wages, we are safe in assuming that the high cost of living has come down only from 12-20 % and even less than that (A statement that even bourgeois economists will admit is true).

The figures under "Housing" prove conclusively that especially in proletarian quarters rents have gone up considerably. Expressed in per cent the increase in rents during the last decade in the city of Basle was as follows:

For a one room flat	67.3%
For a two room flat	53.6%
For a three room flat	48.5%
For a four room flat	43.8%
For a five room flat	28.5%
For a six room flat	10.7%

The increase in rent for single furnished rooms was in the same period on the average 27.6%.

A few more illustrations of the exorbitant rents demanded in Zurich (we cite from the official organ of that city, dated December 12th, 1921).

For a one room flat	from 480—	600 francs annually
do. two	do. do.	do. 700—1020 do. do.
do. three	do. do.	do. 960—2500 do. do.
do. four	do. do.	do. 1600—3000 do. do.
do. five	do. do.	do. 2500—4000 do. do.

How much a worker, after having paid these rents out of wages varying between 2500 and 5000 francs, has left over for a "decent" standard of living is not difficult to calculate.

Nowhere can we discern anything even resembling a reduction of prices. The prices for food remain stationary, rents are going up, the burden of taxation, both direct and indirect, makes the people stagger.

These results of the crisis affect only workers and employees, however. Employers and peasants who were rolling in money during the war are still making good profits.

In 1920 the following dividends (which are but part of the surplus) were paid:

Foodstuff Industry	8—22 %
Metal Industry	6—21 %
Electricity and Gas Works	5—30 %
Chemical Industry	5—26 %
Textile Industry	6—10 %
Building Trades	5—10 %
Insurance Companies	4—30 %
Banks	6—8 %

Similar dividends were paid by agricultural enterprises which by means of their exorbitant price policy during the war succeeded not only in paying off their debts but in accumulating considerable savings as well.

In a situation such as that attempts are under way to deprive the proletariat of its gains. Hand in hand with reduction of wages and lengthening of working hours goes political reaction. Hundreds of foreign workers have been deported. The membership card of a proletarian organization is sufficient reason for the "Freest Republic in the world" to sign a deportation order. The National Council is at present considering an anti-Communist law which, if passed, will outlaw every labor leader and throw him into jail for merely propagandizing his ideas. The right of government employees to organize and to strike will be abolished by this muzzle law.

If Swiss labor does not respond to the appeal of the Communist Party of Switzerland to form an united proletarian front, it will surely be over-ridden by the reaction.

We are glad to be able to report, however, that the workers in spite of their "tried" leaders are adopting the Communist slogan and are propagating it in the widest circles. "For an united proletarian phalanx to defend ourselves against economic and political reaction".

## THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

### The Split in the French C. G. T.

by Guy Tourette (Paris).

It has not yet been consummated—if it is held that a thing only exists after it has been signed and registered.

But the split in the Confédération Générale du Travail (General Confederation of Labor) is a fact. It became a fact after the last session of the Comité National Confédéral (National Confederal Committee) decided to expel rebellious trade-unions and to admit substitute unions which conformed to the wishes of the Confederal Bureau.

No doubt—whether restricted to a few agricultural unions or extended to include 300 unions of railwaymen—it was a split from the moment when they authorized and demanded the constitution of reformist unions to replace the expelled revolutionary unions, in formal contradiction to the constitution and by-laws of the C.G.T.

A few revolutionaries, soon disavowed by their comrades, desired the split—Péricat who founded the Federation of Workers of the World which never went any further than the Cannebière and which never existed; Mayoux who afterwards repented and has become a determined unitarian; and some comrades in the Parisian trade-unions. But these rare discordant notes had no effect on the minority. The latter wanted to conquer the C.G.T., not to split it.

The responsibility for the split lies elsewhere.

When Jouhaux got of Merrheim at the Conference of Clermont-Ferrand and of Dumoulin at the Paris Trade-Union Congress of 1918, he could believe that unity had been accomplished in favor of the economic radicalism as he had understood it in Malvy's salons.

But the betrayed minority did not disarm. Merrheim had not prevented the Congress of St. Etienne. Dumoulin, by his treason could not bar the road to revolutionary syndicalism. Monatte, after demobilization, commenced to publish "*La Vie Ouvrière*" again and the "*Journal du Peuple*" supported the opposition to the syndicalism of the "Union Sacrée". At the Congress of Orléans it was already understood that "*L'Humanité*" was going to distinguish between the labor movement and the gentlemen of the Confederal Bureau. So in order to muzzle "*La Vie Ouvrière*" and to disappoint the hankering of "*L'Humanité*" they had a young Bordeaux politician named Lavielle introduce a motion for the "dictatorship through silence". The Congress of Orléans refused to "follow". It refused to listen to Lavielle's motion.

The minority organized. At the Congress of Lyons it constituted the C.S.R. (Revolutionary Syndicalist Committees). The minority grew. After Tours, "*L'Humanité*" offered it the possibility of reaching its 200,000 readers, while the official organ of the C.G.T., "*Le Peuple*", in spite of enormous expenditures only had a ridiculously small circulation.

How were the officials to preserve a reformist majority in the C.G.T.? At Orléans, the minority unions had decided upon adhesion to the Moscow Trade Union International in principle. In the National Committee, of which they were sure, because it was composed of officials, they demanded that the Federation be authorized to exclude first the unions adhering to Moscow, then the members of the C.S.R. It was not without difficulty, but Dumoulin, charged with the task, obtained the majority.

In the meanwhile, the Federations were scarcely in a hurry to exclude the revolutionary unions. Only the Federations of Clerks and of Agricultural Laborers executed some few exclusions. The great Federations—Building, Metal Workers, Miners, etc.—hesitated. The trade-unions would not have tolerated it. And at the Congress of the Metal Workers at Lille on the eve of the National Congress, Merrheim, in order to conserve a majority of three votes, had to declare that the Federation would not expel anybody. Evidently that did not prevent him, one month later, from voting for expulsions at the session of the National Confederal Committee (C.C.N.). At the National Congress in July, it seemed that the debate would turn upon the subject of expulsions. At the beginning it had been raised by a motion of Comrade Fiquet demanding the withdrawal of all exclusions. The majority of the Congress supported the motion, but the trade-union leaders explained that there was no purpose to it. Jouhaux and Dumoulin hurled from the tribune of the Congress, "There are no exclusions. Those expelled are here—there will be no others". In fact, there were

none... at the Congress. The Federations of Clerks and Agricultural Workers had recognized the credentials of the unions which they had expelled.

The minority believed that it had repelled the splitters; that it had won the day for unity. Jouhaux, Dumoulin and their supernumeraries had merely outwitted and grossly deceived them. Far from having defeated the splitters, the Lille Congress had only armed them with a pretext so that they could operate more easily and surely.

In reality the majority motion contained a passage on union discipline, imposing respect for the decisions of the Congress, which was kept well in hiding at the Congress. The revolutionaries thought only of discipline in action and they were its partisans.

They were soon to learn their error. In a letter to "*L'Information Sociale*", M. Rey, one of the most cynical renegades of revolutionary syndicalism, wrote:

"At Lille a resolution was presented by us and adopted by the majority. We had had thoroughly discussed its spirit, if not its text in the days which preceded. We knew very well what we were proposing and we have foreseen all the consequences.... The application of the Lille resolution by the majority means the split. That is the naked truth.

"We can only go to this unfortunate but extremely healthy step after having prepared our supporters and after they will have prepared in their turn the trade-unionists in their respective fields."

The following was the thesis submitted to the C.C.N. which followed the Congress and thus interpreted the Lille resolution:

"The organizations which do not except all the principles of the Neo-Syndicalism of the war (the program of political radicalism returned to by the C.G.T.) can be excluded, and replaced by others admitting the Confederal point of view."

And there we have split proclaimed. It was carried by a small majority at the C.C.N., and it must not be forgotten that in the C.C.N. the unions have a double representation—through the Federations and through the Departmental Unions—and that the majority of the Departmental Unions voted against this thesis. It was thus against the evident wish of the majority of the trade-unionists that the split was decided upon—above all when it is considered that the principal Departmental Unions (Seine, Rhône, Seine-Inférieure, etc.) voted in the negative.

The trade-union leaders thus know that they have the majority of the organized workers against them and their policy of split. That does not prevent them from continuing their dirty work.

Their bad faith in the case of the Railwaymen is well known. Dumoulin's and Jouhaux' desire for a split, which sustained Bidegaray whose defeat has recently been announced, no longer leaves even their partisans room for doubt as to their bad faith. Vileval has resigned from the Printing Trades Federation in order not to be implicated in such an affair.

However, it is being continued. After having excluded unions from the Federations of Clerks, of Agricultural Workers and of Health Workers and 68,000 organized railwaymen, they are going to expel 20,000 Tourcoing strikers under the pretext that the Trades Council of that locality voted a resolution which was in contradiction to the policy of the C. G. T.

On the other hand, all the majority Federations obeying the order of the Rue Lafayette (Headquarters of the C. G. T.) have sent their revolutionary unions threats of expulsion—with replacement by disciplined unions.

It is no longer necessary to be an adherent of the C. S. R. or to be suspected of being an adherent. All that is necessary is that the points of view of M. Jouhaux (those of M. Léon Blum) should be discussed for one to be considered as a rebel and to be expelled.

Then it was that the trade-union organizations, partisans of unity, took up the gauntlet. They sent letters and delegations to the Confederal Bureau and Administrative Commission, but obtained no satisfaction. The bureaucrats derided the organization of the C. G. T.—they wanted a split to deserve their title as leaders of the C. G. T. from the International Labour Bureau of the League of Nations, and doubtless also from the French government.

Faced by such cynicism, by such a betrayal of the interests of the French workers on the part of those who should defend them, 15 Departmental Unions and Federations decided to convocate a Congress of unions adhering to the C. G. T. over the head of Jouhaux and Dumoulin in order to preserve trade-union unity in France.

"*L'Humanité*" is doing its utmost for the success of the Congress; the officials of the C. G. T. are striving with the aid of the bourgeois and governmental press to bring about its failure. Let us hope that their lies and betrayals will be thwarted

by the will and common sense of the French workers. The Unity Congress of December 22-24th is being heralded as due for a great success.

What will be the result? Without doubt, in spite of the will of the revolutionaries, it will be the consummation of the split since the reformist leaders want it at any price.

## The Position of the Working Class in Belgium.

by W. Lada.

According to the statements of Corneille Mertens, General Secretary of the Trade Union Council of the Belgian Socialist Party and Vice Chairman of the Amsterdam Trade Union International, as reported in the Paris "People", the situation of the working-class in Belgium is a rosy one.

The cost of living has risen in Belgium, but the increase of prices, when compared with those in the neighbouring countries are "not excessive", and are not caused by a prohibitive protective tariff as is the case in Switzerland and France. The employers are not carrying on an active campaign for the reduction of wages and if they should desire to do so, they would not find it very easy. According to Mertens, the Belgian proletariat owes that to "Comrade" Wauters, Minister of Labor, who has appointed arbitration commissions for the settlement of wage differences. Should the employers refuse to agree to the automatic rise of wages in case of a rise in the cost of living as provided for by law, the workers go on strike and can easily overcome the resistance of the employers, since the strikers are supported by the government crisis funds. As for the eight-hour day, the provisions of the new law have rendered it impossible for the employers to continue their practice of overtime.

If one were to believe him, one might think that Belgium—the country that Marx called the capitalists' paradise and the workers' hell—has become at the present time a paradise for the working-class.

This picture painted by the Amsterdamer in so glowing colors is however very far from the truth. Although international comparisons are extremely difficult and misleading, nevertheless, it must be stated that the situation in Belgium manifests the signs of economic decay and of the intensified class-struggle common to every capitalist country in the world. When the Belgian Amsterdamers shut their eyes before these facts and paint the condition of the Belgian working-class in rosy colors, they only remain true to their role of servants of the bourgeoisie and guardians of the capitalist system.

According to the figures of the British Ministry of Labor, the rise in the prices of the most important food stuffs since 1914, in per cent, was as follows:

	December 1920	July 1921
Holland . . . . .	108	86
Switzerland . . . . .	149	109
Denmark . . . . .	176	137
Great Britain and Ireland . . . . .	182	119
Sweden . . . . .	194	134
Norway . . . . .	242	190
Italy . . . . .	275	309
(Milan) . . . . .	435	423
France . . . . .	324	212
Belgium . . . . .	405	319

("Labour Overseas", No. 3, 1920, p. 2; No. 5, 1921, p. 2. The table in the "Revue Internationale du Travail", November 1921, p. 330, differs only in slight degree from the above.)

As the above table indicates, the increase of prices in Belgium is greater than in many neutral or "victorious" belligerent country. It can only be called "not excessive" in comparison with Germany, Austria and the countries of Eastern Europe, in other words, with countries which were entirely ruined by the war! While the index number for the increase of prices in Great Britain according to the reports of the Ministry of Labor has fallen in December 1921 to 99 % above the level of 1914, it was in Belgium, in November 1921, 391. Scarcely an "excessive increase"!

We have no reliable survey of wages in Belgium. But we have sufficient material at our disposal to maintain that in Belgium as everywhere else they have fallen far behind the rise in the cost of living. The standard of living and the real wage of the Belgian working-class has fallen. This was officially admitted in April 1921, as far as the railway workers are concerned, by the

It has been a success—1,484 unions have solidarized with the excluded revolutionaries.

Railway Minister himself. In conclusion it can be said that, computed according to the market value of the Belgian franc, Belgian wages are very much lower than those in the other "victorious" belligerent, as well as neutral countries (perhaps with the exception of Italy). This has been established for the metal industry by a questionnaire of the International Secretariat of the Metal Workers' Federation as well as for the textile industry by an official report to the United States Senate.

In Belgium as everywhere else the employers have been putting wage reductions into effect for the last few months. Under the pretext of an adjustment to the increasing buying power of money, the employers are carrying on a campaign against the positions won by the working-class. This offensive is satisfactorily characterized by an editorial in the official organ of the Socialist Trade Union Commission of the 5th of November under the heading "La Réaction prend l'Offensive" (The Reaction Takes the Offensive). The statements stand in remarkable contradiction to the optimistic, rosy-colored representations of Mertens in the "People". The editorial states:

"... The campaign for the 'reductions of expenses' was directly aimed against the social reforms promised since the armistice. The measure which would tend to alleviate the results of the crisis are meeting with a more and more determined opposition. Repeated sharp attacks upon the crisis funds have been made. It was charged that they favour the trade-unions and make for laziness, as used to be said of unemployment insurance. At first the eight-hour day law met with concealed, later open and finally even forcibly hostile attacks. . . . In reality the establishment of a bourgeois bloc against the working-class is taking place . . ."

Wage reductions have taken place in almost all industries; the reductions range from 8 to 15 and more per cent. In contradiction to Mertens' statements, the most—or at any rate numerous—reductions were only forced on the workers after defeated strikes.

As for unemployment the comparison with several of the neighbouring countries is here especially instructive. According to the figures of the "Revue Internationale du Travail" of November 1921, the percentage of unemployment in Belgium varied between January and July 1921 between 19.3% and 32.3% (May). In Germany during this period it varied between 2.5% (July) and 4.7%. Neither in Great Britain nor in Sweden, which both have a relatively high percentage of unemployed, do the figures even approach those of Belgium. In October Belgium had 748,000 insured workmen of whom 102,079 were unemployed, i. e., 13.6% of the total number of insured ("People", December 14th). In Germany the figure was at that time 1.2% ("Reichsarbeitsblatt", No. 28, p. 1172).

Now for the class-struggles in Belgium. In order to give an indication of their nature, we will mention one or two of the recent industrial conflicts.

Firstly, the strike in Dugrée-Marihaye. 5,000 workers fought for over five months against the superior power of capital in order to ward off its attacks on the rights of the workers in the factories. In distinction from the past, the metal workers solidarized with the miners and also went on strike. The mines were seriously damaged, and the employers suffered severe losses, but they were inflexible and refused all arbitration. They unconditionally demanded the heads of the "Bolsheviks" alleged to be responsible for the strike. They obtained them—not without the assistance of the trade-union leaders. The latter continually rejected the proposal of the Communists that the fighting Dugrée workers should be supported by a general strike. On the contrary, they participated in the baiting of the Communists.

In the glass-industry in Val-Saint-Lambert, in Chenée and in the Namur district the struggle over differences as to the amount of the wage reduction lasted from three and a half to eight months. The strikers had to combat with the greatest difficulties in order not to have their unemployment support withdrawn under various pretexts. This happened under Minister "Comrade" Wauters! Numerous glass workers had to leave their homes and emigrate. The others finally submitted to their fate.

In spite of the phrase of the "holy unity" of the classes which during the four years of the war and long thereafter inspired the policies of the social patriotic leaders, the class-struggle in which the bourgeoisie openly displays its unlimited class egoism and its desire to exploit the working-class to its very blood, is raging in Belgium as well as all over the world. Unfortunately the time has not yet come when the working-class will be wise enough to draw the necessary conclusions from this state of affairs in order to give up the treasonable policy of the social-patriots and to gather around the Communist Party and the revolutionary trade-unions.

## IN THE INTERNATIONAL

### The French Communist Party on the Eve of the Congress of Marseilles

by P. Vaillant-Couturier (Paris).

The following article unfortunately suffered several days' delay in the post.

Editor's Note.

On the eve of the Marseilles Congress it is perhaps premature to speak of a crisis properly so-called in the French Party. According to the reports which we have received from the Federations, the Party basically and as a whole is in accord with the theses presented by the Central Committee of the Party. The theses on the agricultural question has roused the most praiseworthy and frank emulation.

The Congresses of the North and Rhône Federations were especially explicit in their agreement with the Central Committee. The same is not the case, however, in the Seine, where a very lively opposition has been manifested by a counter-proposition called "Motion on General Policy". The importance of the Federation of the Seine with 20,000 members and the traditional role of Paris in the history of our movement, leads the Party to pay considerable attention to any manifestation of opposition in the Seine as representative of a current of opinion able to have a profound influence at a given moment upon the very life of the Party.

What is at the bottom of this opposition in the Seine? What tendencies are there manifested and what future can these tendencies have?

The entire campaign carried on by the Federation of the Seine against the Central Committee has been dominated by the actual situation—the weakness demonstrated by the retiring Central Committee.

Here is not the place to settle the responsibilities or to make any excuses. We all share these responsibilities. However, the fact remains that the Central Committee, overburdened by administrative duties and by the task of the material reorganization of the Party after Tours, dissipated its energies on a thousand objects and often was unable to make a deliberated decision sufficiently rapidly in certain urgent circumstances.

The retiring Central Committee did an enormous amount of work, but it almost always worked without method and without definite basic principles, leaving to its secretary the task of drawing the practical consequences of its decisions. Since it was from the first placed on the basis of unanimous decisions it could only find compromises and false solutions for the questions which were continually coming before it. Each member attempted, whether in the right or not, to force through his own conception of the situation.

As a result of this engrossing of the Central Committee with minor tasks and with conciliation, the entire Party was affected by a sort of lethargy. A false interpretation of the Moscow Congress only accentuated the seriousness of this evil and in such a fashion that in the crisis of ennui which seized the sections, the most surprising combinations were able to arise. It was extremely dangerous for the Party not to be able to find in its Central Committee on the morning after considerable powers had devolved upon it a government which really governed.

Given its actual powers, its weakness appeared inexcusable to certain members, just as others thought it was actually extraordinary that the Central Committee should pretend to act with authority after having given the impression of a long abdication. And in this connection we must not forget the social-democratic atmosphere of our Party. Its Right tendency is less a question of men than of atmosphere. The Left wing which manifested itself at Tours by the Le Roi-Heino-Louten resolution, being more Communist than Communism itself, went more rapidly toward the Right than the Right itself.

Without left doctrine, properly so-called, it rapidly sacrificed to the influence of the past that which could have given it a real life. At one time reproaching the Central Committee for its weakness, at another time for its desire to apply the ukases emanating from itself or from the International, it ended by denying the Central Committee all actual control over the Party under the pretext of democratic centralization and by falling into an anarchistic federalism.

As a result of that it threw itself into the arms of the right wing, which continually longed for the old C.A.P. (Administrative Commission of the Party) and which was continually attempting to maintain the old spirit within the Central Committee.

It was thus that we are able to see the Right and Left wings unite in the Federation of the Seine against the center, represented by some former members of the Committee of the Third International, particularly attacked. A reading of the "Journal du Peuple", violently attacking not only the persons in the Party, but the spirit of the International itself, removes any doubt upon that subject.

We are not going through a crisis in Paris, but a temporary attack of fever. The possible great conflict is the one between the Communist spirit and the old surviving spirit of the Social-Democracy. The initial error of the Left lay in the fact that instead of supporting the members of the former Committee of the Third International, it believed it to be advisable to attack them and to extend its hand with some regrets and with, I think, much carelessness to the elements of the Right. Certain articles, certain manifestations could have been wrongly interpreted. Explanations were perhaps necessary, but the fact remains, and that dominates the debate, that all must work for the union of the Left elements of the Party with the so-called center which is really a part of the Left of the French Party. That alone can counterbalance the action of the Right and opportunist elements. As it was easy to foresee, too many hopes were born of an incorrect interpretation of the Third Congress of the International. Our Russian comrades in their struggle against the organized Left whom they charged with inopportune, did not realize the danger which a Party like ours underwent as a result of decisions which flattered an indolent majority which should have been on the contrary stimulated into action by the most vigorous means. The French Party with its undisturbed development cannot be judged by the same standard as the other parties. The words "Left", "Right" and "Center" have a different meaning in the French Party. Its inveterate nationalism, its habits of indiscipline and its too widespread ignorance of doctrine render its progress on the road to Communism difficult if it is not constantly guided by the firm but supple hand of the International.

The Congress of Marseilles will adopt theses which will give the sections solid foundations for study and discussion. The opposition of the Seine and the "struggles through the night" which followed it must have made our comrades of the so-called Left reflect on the inopportune of their separate action when they have no separate doctrine. By giving great power to a Central Committee chosen with discernment and relieved of its administrative cares, by organizing a division of labour among the responsible central organs as well as in the most remote sections of the Party, by organizing the publication and distribution of literature, by reestablishing discipline in the ranks of the Communist trade-unionists and by limiting and defining the powers of the Parliamentary group the Congress of Marseilles can accomplish a fruitful labor. At the very outset it will have to declare its firm recognition of the spirit as well as of the letter of the decisions of the International, instead of attempting to find a means of evading them as has too often taken place among us under the determined pressure of the Right.

## RELIEF FOR RUSSIA

### Recent Progress in Proletarian Relief for Starving Russia

by Willy Münzenberg (Berlin).

It is five months now, nearly half a year, that collections have been made among the workers of the West for the starving workers and peasants of Russia. It is seldom that collections for needy class comrades have been conducted with such tenacity and perseverance as those for the starving brethren of Russia. And the relief action is being continued in various countries despite its long duration; in fact, many countries show a new revival of zeal in recent weeks. At the same time, it cannot and must not be denied that to judge by the material results at the beginning of the campaign there appears a slackening in some countries and parties, especially where the work of aid began with great zeal (Austria, Switzerland). On the other hand the collections in those lands that undertook an energetic organization of the relief work much later, are in-

creasing both relatively and absolutely (Scandinavian and overseas countries, Italy).

Seldom has so much opposition been manifested to purely humanitarian work as in the case of the proletarian action for the starving in Russia. The government of almost every country attempted to hinder and check the collections through all sort of petty police chicane. Germany forbade lotteries and raffles and collections in the streets planned by the Workers' Relief Committee. The same happened in Holland and France. In America a meeting to aid the starving was held up, artists forbidden to sing in charity concerts, etc. In Lithuania and Poland the government forbade all proletarian relief work, dissolved all aid committees, and seized the collected money (over 5,000,000 marks in Poland). The reactionary imperialist press has no scruples in its campaign against collections. The Press asserts that the entire relief work of the Foreign Committee is nothing but a cleverly disguised trick to gather money for purposes of propaganda in favour of the Communist International. Social-democratic and independent papers, though perhaps less brazenly, oppose the work of relief with similar arguments. The KAPD, and a part of the left wing groups sympathetically inclined to it, come out against the work of relief on "grounds of principle". Matters became far worse through the wave of high prices in September and October and the unemployment in countries with a high rate of exchange. To cap the climax, the first big steamer sent out by the French workmen with 1200 tons of food products went down in an explosion off Malta, probably as the result of a reactionary crime.

The force of international solidarity and the feeling of international unity come out all the more clearly through the fact that despite all these untoward circumstances the working masses continue unabated their work of aid to their starving Russian brethren. And all the more valuable are the material results attained by the collections. According to the recently published report of the Foreign Committee, the Communist Relief Committee gathered about 70,000,000 marks until the end of November. The sum has grown now to over 100,000,000 marks. This success is due chiefly to the following countries: England whose Relief Committee gathered over £3500. The campaign continues with energy. £200 are added every week. All money passes through the Foreign Committee of Berlin. The collection of the Workers' Committee for the Relief of Starving Russia, in Germany reached 2,000,000 marks in money and 1,500,000 marks in goods; the collection of clothes, shoes and money is uninterruptedly being made in the various cities. Particularly good results have been reached in Holland. The Dutch committee has collected to date 120,000 gulden. From Holland and Germany come chiefly the contributions from women and children intended for the building of a childrens' home. The collection is now large enough to install at least one childrens' home and to board 200 children there for several months. In France the sinking of the first aid ship did not dampen, but on the contrary strengthened the zeal of the relief workers. The Relief Committee organized a wide propaganda for the week of Christmas. 400,000 leaflets have been distributed and the entire Communist press is carrying on a lively agitation. The Central Committee of Paris has again 200,000 francs at its disposal. The storehouse at Metz receives weekly 80-100 big chests of clothes, shoes, articles of food, etc. Clarité has joined the energetic work of aid. In Norway the collections reached the sum of 120,000 crowns. In Bergen and other cities great quantities of food articles were collected. Equally good results were achieved in Sweden where the Communist Committee alone gathered 40,000 crowns in cash and 70,000 in goods. Together therefore, the Communist collections alone show the respectable sum of 110,000 crowns. In Italy where the Communist Party started separate collections rather recently a total of 300,000 lire is already in. The Committee hopes to gather in the near future 1,000,000 lire. In Czechoslovakia, after the split of the joint committee the collection till mid-December amounts to 1,000,000 Czech crowns. Particularly good results were achieved by the Communist Party of Bulgaria, the recent collections bringing up its total to over 1,000,000 lewas. Recently the Social Democratic Party of Roumania began to make collections. Its branch in Brasov (Siebenbirgen) transferred to the Foreign Committee 10,000 Lei. All these successes are far surpassed by the results of collections in the overseas countries. Thus the Workers' Aid Committee of Argentina alone transferred to the Foreign Committee 1,000,000 marks as a first instalment. The New York Committee "Friends of Soviet Russia" gathered over \$200,000 up to the beginning of December. At present the branches of that Committee are commencing a feverish agitation in other American cities in order to raise the sum to \$ 500,000.

In Canada also the work of aid is proceeding with energy. Toronto has a branch of the "Friends of Soviet Russia" that gathered \$9500. Many unions joined the Committee of the "Friends of Soviet Russia". The miners voted at their convention in Indianapolis to contribute a day's pay for the starving in Russia. In Brazil, Mexico and South America aid committees have been organized everywhere and successful collections have been made. Japanese intellectuals on temporary stay in the West have issued a call for the beginning of a wide campaign in Japan to aid starving Russia.

These good financial results allowed the Foreign Committee to send to Russia until the beginning of December, 17 ships—among them two big ships of their own—loaded with foodstuffs. Other transports are being prepared. In the next few days the ship "Terie" is leaving Christiania for Revel with a food cargo. Another Norwegian and Swedish shipment will follow soon after. The first days in January a bigger ship with several thousand kilos of foodstuffs will leave Stettin for Revel, taking with it all necessary equipment for the Rosa Luxemburg-Karl Liebknecht childrens' home. The French comrades are now fitting out a special relief train at Metz that will pass through Stettin and Revel direct into the famine region. In Holland large quantities of flour and fat are being bought. America announces the departure of new relief ships. If the ships reach their destination without delay or hindrance the kitchens of the Foreign Committee will be able to feed about half a million souls in the famine region. These facts ought to remove all doubt as to the possibility of aid and induce every worker who is still standing aside to contribute his own mite to the general collection.

### Important Notice.

The English edition of the "International Press Correspondence" is sent free of charge to all labour and communist organs in England, America, India, South Africa, Australia and Canada. The editors urgently request that the articles be reprinted in the labour and communist press with the least possible delay. The object of the "Correspondence" is to supply the organs of the working class movements in these countries with reliable information and with points of view which are not found in the capitalist press and news agencies.

It is particularly requested that all editors: 1. print as much of the contents of the "International Press Correspondence" as possible; 2. send exchange copies of their respective newspapers and journals to the editors of the "International Press Correspondence"; 3. offer advice and criticism about the "Correspondence", and suggest articles on subjects which may be of special interest to their respective countries. The editors set themselves the task of acting as a means of information and a connecting link between the various branches of the international labour movement. All letters, requests and enquiries received will obtain immediate attention. Members of labour and communist parties are also requested to send the editors of the "International Press Correspondence" the names and addresses of all their organs, so that copies can be sent to them.

### Notize of Change of Address

We call the attention of all our correspondents and subscribers to the change in address of the "International Press Correspondence" and urgently request that all communication be sent to the following address:

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